

BAILEY DELIVERS HIS FINAL SPEECH

Texas Senator Attacks Initiative and Referendum.

SOON WILL TENDER HIS RESIGNATION

Points Out Danger to Present System of American Government if New Principles Are Adopted—Crowded Floor and Galleries Pay Close Attention to Address.

Washington, January 2.—Senator Joseph W. Bailey, of Texas, long one of the picturesque and striking figures of

the Senate, delivered to-day before a crowded floor and galleries his final speech as a member of that body. Within a day of two his resignation will be laid before the Senate and communicated to Governor Colquitt, of Texas, his expectation being that R. M. Johnston, of Houston, will be named to fill out his term, which would end May next.

Speaker Bailey's speech was an attack upon the principles of the initiative and referendum as institutions that would, if adopted, bring about the overthrow of the present system of American government. He declared that they originated in the desire of politicians to evade responsibility for action on such petty questions as the location of State capitals and the settlement of prohibition fights. As institutions of government, he declared that the schemes for direct legislation "are people who convert the United States from a republic into a democracy, and would give its control into the hands of the unskilled, the ignorant and the vicious."

An attack upon WILLIAM H. HEARST in the course of his speech, in which he characterized Mr. Hearst as a "mis-erable dog" who had wounded him, brought Senator Ashurst, of Arizona, to his feet. He attempted to answer this phase of Mr. Bailey's attack upon radical newspapers and magazines, but was stopped by the Texas Senator with the remark that he "could make that reply outside."

Later, Mr. Ashurst took the floor for his own right, and in the course of his defense of the system of direct government paid a tribute to Mr. Hearst as a loyal citizen.

Galleries Crowded.
Galleries were crowded to their utmost capacity, and long lines of people waited in the corridor for an opportunity to hear the Texan's farewell address to the Senate. To the membership of the Senate was added nearly seventy-five members of the House. Senator Bailey spoke for four hours and throughout that time he received the closest attention. As he concluded a wave of applause swept through the galleries, bringing a sharp reprimand from Senator Gallinger, the presiding officer.

President-Elect Wilson, although quoted liberally by Senator Bailey in defense of his declaration that direct legislation is not in accord with the principle of American government, recognized only this commendation from the Texas Senator:

"If the man we have elected President of the United States gives this country a sane and satisfactory administration, the Republican party will never nominate another candidate for the presidency."

"Well," he continued,

"Why should you, he said, advancing toward the Republican side of the chamber. "You did not care but two States this year, and those two of the smallest. The contest four years from now will be between us and the Rooseveltians.

"He (Roosevelt) will take some more but thank God, they will be the kind we can afford to lose."

"Our conflict is with Roosevelt. Our President believes he can take the radical vote away from Roosevelt. He is mistaken. The only man who can do that, and he has not succeeded yet—is Eugene V. Debs.

"He is the only man who can out-Roosevelt Roosevelt in attracting the radical vote. What the Democratic party needs is not the radical, but the

Much of Senator Bailey's speech was devoted to excerpts and quotation from the writings of the men who organized and first administered the American government, and to student who had in later years discussed the effect of direct legislation upon its principles. From the former he drew

that this began as a Republican government and not a Democracy of direct legislation. From the latter, among whom was Governor Wilson, he quoted to show that the opinion of student was that the people were not so well qualified to legislate as were seasoned men selected by them who frame their legislation in deliberate assembly.

Submitted to People.
At one point Senator Bailey produced a book of 208 pages, which he said represented the thirty-two questions submitted to the direct vote of the people of Oregon in one year.

"Now, honor bright," he said, "how many citizens do you suppose there are who studied those questions? How many understood them? I do not mean to reflect on the intelligence of the people when I say they could not un-

He declared that in Switzerland the people had become disgusted with the constant necessity of voting on questions of government, and had gradually

refused to go to the polls. A compulsory voting law, he said, had not succeeded, and they had finally determined to pay voters.

"Make 'em vote, and if they won't pay 'em to vote, is the principle."

Senator Bailey declared that 1
States where constitutional amend-
ments had been submitted to the peo-
ple, but a small proportion of the citi-
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